

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03981 01 OF 02 241935Z

70

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13

OIC-04 EURE-00 AEC-11 AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01

/142 W

----- 047121

O R 241824Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1284

SECDEF IMMEDIATE

INFO USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3981

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: COMMENTS ON INITIAL DRAFT OF "ALLIANCE APPROACH TO
NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR"

REF: USNATO 3963

BEGIN SUMMARY: MISSION COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOLLOW ON INITIAL
I.S. DRAFT OF ALLIANCE APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR" (REFTEL)
ON WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GUIDANCE BY AUGUST 28 SENIOR POLADS
MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. CHARACTER OF DOCUMENT. I.S. DOCUMENT IS FIRST DRAFT OF
COMPREHENSIVE ALLIANCE APPROACH TO MBFR. WHEN COMPLETED, IT WILL
REPRESENT AGREED GUIDANCE TO THE ALLIES' REPRESENTATIVES IN
MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. SOME SECTIONS STILL NEED TO BE FLESHED OUT,
AND SEVERAL ALLIES WILL DOUBTLESS PRODUCE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES
AND REVISIONS. DRAFT DOES, HOWEVER, REPRESENT THE BASIC FRAME-
WORK OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT ON THE ALLIANCE POSITION AND WILL BE
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 03981 01 OF 02 241935Z

THE FOCAL POINT OF SPC AND COUNCIL DISCUSSION IN THE WEEKS
AHEAD.

2. KEYED TO THE I.S. TEXT, THERE FOLLOWS BELOW MISSION'S

SPECIFIC COMMENTS, ANNOTATIONS AND REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE.

INTRODUCTION

PARA 1. SPC ON AUGUST 23 CONSIDERED THAT SINCE NEGOTATING PROCEDURES AND INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION ARE TWO DISTINCT SUBJECTS, THEY SHOULD BE DIVIDED INTO SEPARATE SECTIONS. THUS THE ADDITION OF SECTION V TO THE PAPER.

PARA 2. FIRST SET OF BRACKETS DESCRIBES U.S. CONCEPT OF ALLIED POSITION (SECTION II) AND NEGOTIATING STRATEGY (SECTION III). SECOND SET OF BRACKETS IS LANGUAGE DESCRIBING UK CONCEPT. USE OF TERMS "BASIC" AND EXPLORE" REFLECTS BRITISH VIEW (USNATO 3965) THAT ALLIED POSITION DESCRIBES ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME RATHER THAN NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES AND THAT ALLIES SHOULD PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY. REMAINING BRACKETS IN THIS PARAGRAPH ARE EDITORIAL. COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WILL BE DIFFICULT EVENTUALLY TO DRAFT COMMON LANGUAGE ON THIS PARAGRAPH, BUT THIS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN UK AND U.S. APPROACHES IS FIRST RESOLVED IN SECTIONS II AND III. AT AUGUST 23 SPC MEETING, BELGIAN REP SUGGESTED USE OF GENERALIZED FORMULATIONS TO AVOID USE OF BRACKETS IN THIS PARAGRAPH, BUT UK REP INSISTED ON BRACKETED ALTERNATIVES.

PARA 3. THIS PARAGRAPH IS ONLY A REMINDER OF DIFFERENT VIEWS OVER CHARACTER OF OPENING PROPOSAL AND WILL NEED TO BE REVISED LATER, IN LIGHT OF DISCUSSIONS ON SECTION III B.

I. SECRET GUIDELINES

ALLIES WILL RETURN TO SECRET GUIDELINES (CM(73)50) FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF DISCUSSION OF SECTIONS II AND III, HOPEFULLY TO REMOVE MOST OR ALL REMAINING BRACKETS.

II. THE ALLIED POSITION

PARA 4. FIRST AND SECOND BRACKETS DEFINE U.S./BELGIAN APPROACH
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 03981 01 OF 02 241935Z

AND UK APPROACH, RESPECTIVELY, BUT IN GREATER DETAIL THAN IN INTRODUCTION. REFERENCE TO SECTION V (INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION) IS REMINDER THAT ALLIES WILL NEED EVENTUALLY TO ADDRESS QUESTION OF PROCEDURES FOR CONSULTATIONS ON A SUBSTANTIAL ADJUSTMENT OF POSITION. COMMENT: AT AUGUST 28 MEETING, WE WILL CONTINUE TO DRAW UPON STATE 166471 TO UNDERLINE U.S. VIEW THAT "THE ALLIED POSITION" IS A STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES AND GOALS. HOWEVER, UK MAY PICKUP SUPPORT FROM FRG FOR CHARACTERIZING THIS SECTION AS THE OUTER LIMITS OF ALLIED POSITION, PARTICULARLY ON REDUCTIONS. END COMMENT.

PARA 6. THIS IS A NEW UK PROPOSAL (USNATO 3965), WHICH NO ALLY HAS THUS FAR SUPPORTED, THAT PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES INCLUDE

AN AGREED DEFINITION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY.
COMMENT: WE PLAN TO ARGUE THAT ALLIES HAVE ALREADY REACHED
INTERNAL AGREEMENT TO A DEFINITION OF "UNDIMINISHED SECURITY"
IN MBFR SECRET GUIDELINES (I.E., "...THE MAINTENANCE, AND IF
POSSIBLE, THE ENHANCEMENT, OF THE MILITARY SECURITY POSTURE OF
THE ALLIANCE"), BUT THAT THIS IS NOT A DEFINITION ON WHICH WE
COULD HOPE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.
TO REOPEN DEBATE IN THE ALLIANCE ON THIS DEFINITION WOULD BE
UNNECESSARY AND TIME-CONSUMING. WE WILL ALSO ARGUE THAT SECOND
SENTENCE IN PARA, WHICH DESCRIBES UK "PARALLEL LISTS"
STRATEGY, PROPERLY BELONGS IN SECTION III. END COMMENT.

PARA 7. FIRST BRACKETS--SEVERAL ALLIES OBJECTED TO THIS
UK PARAGRAPH, ON GROUNDS THAT IT WAS NOT REALISTIC TO EXPECT
SOVIETS TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON WITHDRAWN FORCES, AND SUCH
AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD NOT IN ANY CASE BE VERIFIABLE. COMMENT:
PER STATE 162345, WE PLAN TO EXPRESS OUR PREFERENCE FOR INCLUDING
ALLIED FORCES IN THE LAST THREE PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, BUT WILL
SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS IF ALLIES STRONGLY OPPOSE INCLUSION OF THEIR

FORCES. END COMMENT. NEXT TWO SETS OF BRACKETS REFLECT UK VIEW THAT
ALLIES CANNOT AGREE TO THESE MEASURES WITHOUT FURTHER STUDY
WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

PARA 8. SECOND SET OF BRACKETS REFLECTS UK VIEW THAT
ALLIED PROPOSAL SHOULD NOT BE SPECIFIC IN MANPOWER TERMS. TERMS
"MEASUREMENT" AND "EXPLICITNESS" ARE INCLUDED BY THE UK TO INDICATE
THEIR INTEREST IN DEVELOPING SPECIFIC YARDSTICK OF COMBAT CAPA-
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 03981 01 OF 02 241935Z

BILITY. COMMENT: DRAWING ON STATE 165537, WE PLAN TO AGREE
WITH MILITARY COMMITTEE REP (USNATO 3965) ON PRACTICAL IMPOSSI-
BILITY OF AGREEING WITH WARSAW PACT ON A SINGLE METHOD OF MEASUR-
ING COMBAT CAPABILITY AND TO ARGUE THAT PARA 10 ADEQUATELY COVERS
POINT. END COMMENT

PARA 8 BIS. UK "FLOOR" CONCEPT. COMMENT: IN VIEW OF BRAITH-
WAITE'S ENCOURAGING REMARK (PARA 4 LONDON 9738), WE WILL ASK UK
TO DROP THIS PARAGRAPH ON GROUNDS THAT POINT ON LIMITATION ON
ALLIED REDUCTIONS IS ADEQUATELY COVERED IN PARA 10 OF
SECRET GUIDELINES. END COMMENT.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 03981 02 OF 02 241950Z

70
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13

OIC-04 EURE-00 AEC-11 AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01

/142 W

----- 047206

O R 241824Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1285

SECDEF IMMEDIATE

INFO USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3981

PARA 9. BRACKETS AROUND FIGURE "700,000" INSERTED BY BELGIUM, WHICH PREFERS TO USE MORE GENERAL "90 PCT" FIGURE UNTIL ALLIES REACH AGREEMENT ON DATA. COMMENT: WE PLAN TO EXPRESS PREFERENCE FOR USE OF ILLUSTRATIVE NUMERICAL FIGURE RATHER THAN PERCENTAGE FIGURE AND WILL DRAW UPON STATE 166362. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE DO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE, AS SUGGESTED IN PARA3, STATE 166362, TO PROVIDE ALLIES AND MBFR WORKING GROUP WITH REVISED U.S. ESTIMATE FOR NGA. END COMMENT.

PARA 11. SECOND BRACKETS. WE SUSPECT THAT THE UK AGREEMENT TO DROP ITS ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTIONS WILL BE DETERMINED LARGELY BY U.S. DETERMINATION TO STICK TO 15 PCT FIGURE IN NEGOTIATIONS, AND BY WHAT WE ARE WILLING TO SAY ABOUT PERSEVERING ON COMBAT CAPABILITY.

PARA 12(I). COMMENT: IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP A COMMON TEXT HERE AND SUGGEST ADDING PART OF BELGIAN TEXT (SECOND BRACKETS) TO FIRST SENTENCE OF U.S. TEXT TO READ AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE NATO SHOULD BE PERMITTED FLEXIBILITY IN THE FORM
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 03981 02 OF 02 241950Z

OF REDUCTION ON GROUNDS OF ASYMMETRY OF CONDITIONS, WHEREAS WARSAW FACT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED BY MAJOR UNITS. UNQUOTE . END COMMENT.

PARA 12 (II). COMMENT: DOES WASHINGTON HAVE A PREFERRED FORMULATION ON THIS POINT? END COMMENT.

PARA 12 (III). TURKEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE MORE TO SAY ON THIS PARAGRAPH. COMMENT: WE WOULD STATE THAT IT IS IMPLAUSIBLE THAT THE SOVIET FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM THE CENTRAL FRONT WOULD BE LOCATED IN AREAS OTHER THAN THE AREA OF THE WESTERN SOVIET UNION, BUT THAT WE AND THE FLANK STATES CAN MONITOR THIS QUESTION CLOSELY DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. END COMMENT.

PARA 12 (IV). AT AUGUST 23 SPC MEETING, TURKEY REITERATED

SUPPORT FOR THIS PROPOSAL. COMMENT: WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT THIS MEASURE IS PROBABLY NON-NEGOTIABLE AND NON-VERIFIABLE. SHOULD WE OPPOSE IT? END COMMENT

PARA 13. FIRST BRACKETS-REFLECTS UK VIEW THAT THESE MEASURES ALSO REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY. SUB PARA III-FRG BRACKETS, NOT YET FULLY EXPLAINED, BUT INDICATE CONCERN THAT AMBIGUITIES OF PHRASE MIGHT PLACE UNWANTED RESTRICTIONS ON NON-USNATO AND NSWP FORCES.

PARA 14 (II). THIS STATEMENT DOES NOT REFLECT OTHER ALTERNATIVES (I.E., NON-CIRCUMVENTION AGREEMENT, FLA) MENTIONED IN WORKING GROUP DOCUMENT AC/276-D(73)2.

PARA 16. SUBPARAS (I) AND (II) IN BRACKETS REFLECT BELGIAN RESERVATION TOWARDS RELYING ON NATIONAL MILITARY ATTACHES. FINAL SENTENCE IN PARA 16 REFLECTS BELGIAN POSITION IN FAVOR OF OVER VERIFICATION MEASURES. COMMENT: IF WASHINGTON CONCURS, WE WOULD SAY THAT ALTHOUGH U.S. IS WILLING TO TRY GETTING AGREEMENT TO VERIFICATION MEASURES, IT CONSIDERS THAT IT HAS THE CAPABILITY TO VERIFY ADEQUATELY A FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT AND HOPES THAT ALLIES COULD AGREE TO THIS AS MINIMUM FOR FIRST STAGE. END COMMENT

PARA 17. THIS PARA IS LEFT BLANK AS A REMINDER THAT THE U.S., WHICH LISTED THIS SUBHEADING IN ITS JULY 27 PROPOSAL PRESUMABLY WILL HAVE AN EXPLANATORY CONTRIBUTION ON THIS SUBJECT. COMMENT: SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 03981 02 OF 02 241950Z

REQUEST GUIDANCE. END COMMENT.

PARAS 18 AND 19. COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE AS TO WHETHER WE SHOULD ACCEPT ANY ELEMENTS OF FRG OR UK TEXTS? END COMMENT.

PARA 20. AT THE AUGUST 23 SPC MEETING, U.S. REP DID NOT BRACKET THIS PARA BUT COMMENTED THAT IT PROBABLY GOES FURTHER THAN THE U.S. IS WILLING TO GO AT THIS TIME ON TAKING DECISION ON STAGE II, AS WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO RETURN TO IT.

III NEGOTATING STRATEGY

PARA 25 (FIRST TICK)-UK POSITION.

PARA 25 (SECOND TICK)-FRG POSITION. COMMENT: THIS COMES CLOSE TO THE UK APPROACH AND COULD LEAD TO UK AND FRG JOINING FORCES IN FAVOR OF "AGENDA" APPROACH RATHER THAN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL PREFERRED BY U.S. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN GAINING FRG SUPPORT TO BE ABLE TO COMMENT THAT U.S. WILL HAVE VIEWS ON ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED IN SUBPARA (I) OF THE FRG PROPOSAL WHEN SPC BEGINS CONSIDERATION OF SECTION IV. WE WOULD THEN ARGUE THAT THE ADDITIONAL POINTS MENTIONED IN SUBPARAS (II), (III), AND (IV) OF FRG SUGGESTION ARE COVERED IN

U.S. FRAMEWORK APPROACH. END COMMENT.

PARA 25 (THIRD TICK). U.S. APPROACH, BASED ON STATE 166471
AND 158062.

PARAS 26 ANND 27. SUGGESTED BY BELGIUM. FORMULATIONS
APPEAR SATISFACTORY TO MISSION, EXCEPT THAT WE WOULD PREFER
TO REPLACE "EVENTUALLY" IN THIRD SENTENCE, PARA 26, WITH
"RELATIVELY EARLY IN NEGOTIATIONS."

PARA 28. STATEMENT OF U.S. APPROACH REPEATS SOME POINTS
IN "GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS" SECTION AND MAY REQUIRE FURTHER
EDITING BUT DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY TO EXPLAIN U.S. VIEW IN
ENOUGH DETAIL SO AS TO DISCOURAGE ALLIES FROM TRYING TO GET
INTO MORE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE AND TALKING POINTS WHICH, IN OUR
VIEW, CAN BEST BE PREPARED BY AD HOC GROUP IN VIENNA.

PARA 29. UK APPROACH.
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 03981 02 OF 02 241950Z

IV NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES; V INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION

AS DESIRED BY U.S., IS WILL NOT ENCOURAGE FURTHER DEVELOP-
MENT OF THESE SECTIONS UNTIL THE ALLIES
COMPLETE ESSENTIAL WORK ON SECTIONS II AND III. RUMSFELD

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO03981
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730868/abqcebsl.tel
Line Count: 300
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USNATO 3963
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: COMMENTS ON INITIAL DRAFT OF "ALLIANCE APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR"
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005